

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 IOE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

/076 W

-----060208 231625Z /43

O R 231502Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5936

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1772

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, US, UN, SF, WA

SUBJ: TALKS WITH SWAPO ON NAMIBIA

REF: (A) LUSAKA 1722; (B) USUN 2001; (C) STATE 143446

SUMMARY: AT MEETING WITH SWAPO VICE PRESIDENT MUYONGO JUNE

23, HE WAS RECEPTIVE TO IDEA OF SWAPO MEETING WITH CONTACT

GROUP IN NEW YORK; SAID NO FIRM DATE FOR SWAPO EXECUTIVE

COMMITTEE MEETING HAD BEEN FIXED; ASKED IF CONTACT GROUP

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COULD ARRANGE FOR TWO SWAPO REPRESENTATIVES RESIDING IN

NAMIBIA TO ATTEND MEETING IN NEW YORK; AND EMPHASIZED

ONCE AGAIN SWAPO'S CONCERN THAT CONTINUED PRESENCE OF

SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY AND POLICE WOULD ENSURE THAT ELECTIONS

WOULD BE RIGGED AGAINST SWAPO. END SUMMARY

1. AFTER MY CALL ENQUIRING ABOUT WHEN SWAPO PLANNED TO

HOLD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING TO DISCUSS CONTACT GROUP BRIEFING (REFTEL A), MUYONGO, IMMEDIATELY AFTER HIS RETURN TO LUSAKA, ASKED TO SEE ME. HE EXPLAINED THAT NO DATE HAD BEEN FIXED FOR A MEETING OF THE SWAPO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. MEETING WOULD PROBABLY TAKE PLACE FIRST WEEK OF JULY WHEN NUJOMA RETURNED TO LUSAKA FROM LIBREVILLE. EXACT TIMING FOR HIS RETURNS IS NOT CERTAIN, BUT MUYONGO THOUGHT IT WOULD BE JULY 4 OR 5.

2. I SUGGESTED TO MUYONGO AS A POSSIBILITY A MEETING IN NEW YORK ALONG THE LINES OUTLINED IN REFTEL C, AND HE WAS IMMEDIATELY RECEPTIVE. HE COULD NOT SAY DEFINITELY WHAT NUJOMA'S REACTION WOULD BE BUT HE BELIEVED NUJOMA WOULD REACT POSITIVELY.

3. MUYONGO SAW MEETING IN NEW YORK AS A CHANCE TO MAKE CLEAR SWAPO CONCERNS WITH CERTAIN PROVISIONS IN THE PROPOSALS DEVELOPED IN CAPE TOWN. BASICALLY THESE CONCERNS CENTER AROUND THE CONTINUED PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA OF SOUTH AFRICAN SECURITY FORCES DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD. SWAPO FINDS IT ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO CONCEIVE OF FAIR ELECTIONS AS LONG AS SAG SECURITY FORCES ARE IN NAMIBIA. IN RESPONSE TO MY OBSERVATION THAT ONE OF THE PRIMARY ROLES OF THE UN SEPCIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND HIS STAFF WAS TO ENSURE AGAINST INTIMIDATION FROM ANY SOURCE, MUYONGO OBSERVED THAT THIS DID NOT HAVE MUCH MEANING FOR SOMEONE LIKE HIM WHO WOULD BE CAMPAIGNING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. FREE FROM DIRECT UN OBSERVATION, SAG SECURITY FORCES OUT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE MIGHT FIND IT CONVENIENT TO HAVE TROUBLE MAKERS
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SHOT BY ACCIDENT.

4. SWAPO APPRECIATES ALL THAT CONTACT GROUP HAS DONE AND ACCEPTS THE IDEA OF ELECTIONS; HOWEVER, PROPOSALS ADVANCED THUS FAR DO NOT MEET THE REQUIREMENT FOR UN SUPERVISED AND CONTROLLED ELECTIONS. MUYONGO SAID THAT UNTIL SUCH ASSURANCES WERE FORTHCOMING, SWAPO WOULD HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO RESIST CAPE TOWN PROPOSALS. HE SAID THAT SWAPO RECOGNIZES THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS TRYING TO PLACE SWAPO IN A POSITION WHERE IT WILL BE PORTRAYED AS BLOCKING ELECTIONS. FURTHER, THE CONTACT FIVE ARE LETTING SOUTH AFRICA GET AWAY WITH IT BY ACCEPTING SOUTH AFRICAN IDEA OF APPOINTING AN ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND BY NOT INSISTING ON UN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF THE ELECTION PROCESS. SWAPO, MUYONGO SAID, DID NOT WANT TO TAKE THE BLAME FOR LETTING CAPE TOWN INITIATIVE BREAK DOWN BUT WAS PREPARED TO DO SO IF PROVISIONS AGREED ON BY SAG AND CONTACT GROUP DO NOT OFFER ASSURANCES OF TRULY FREE ELECTIONS.

5. SWAPO ALSO STRONGLY OBJECTS TO THE SAG-INSPIRED STATEMENTS BEING MADE BY TURNHALLE PARTICIPANTS. THEY ARE SAYING THAT THEY ARE THE ONES RESPONSIBLE FOR GETTING THE CONTACT FIVE INVOLVED AND FOR THE IDEA OF AN ADMINISTRATOR

GENERAL AND FOR GETTING SOUTH AFRICA TO AGREE TO THE
DECEMBER 31, 1978 INDEPENDENCE DATE. TURNHALLE REPS ARE
USING THESE ARGUMENTS IN PREPARATION FOR ELECTIONS AS A
WAY TO UNDERMINE SWAPO. THE LEAST THE CONTACT GROUP COULD
DO TO SHOW THAT IT ISN'T WORKING FOR TURNHALLE, SAID MUYONGO,
IS TO CHANGE THE INDEPENDENCE DATE BY A MONTH EITHER WAY.
MOREOVER, SAG IS ALREADY STARTING TO BRING IN BLACKS AND
WHITES FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS AND
THERE ARE RUMORS AFOOT, ACCORDING TO MUYONGO, THAT THE 50
THOUSAND SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN NAMIBIA WILL BE PERMITTED
TO VOTE.

6. RETURNING TO THE QUESTION OF A SWAPO MEETING WITH THE
CONTACT GROUP IN NEW YORK, MUYONGO ASKED IF THE CONTACT
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GROUP WOULD BE ABLE TO PAY SWAPO PARTICIPANTS' TRANSPORTATION

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 1772

COSTS. HE ALSO WONDERED IF CONTACT GROUP COULD ARRANGE FOR TWO SWAPO INTERNAL REPRESENTATIVES TO ATTEND THE MEETING IN NEW YORK. IF THIS COULD BE DONE AND THE TWO MEN COULD RETURN TO NAMIBIA WITHOUT FEAR OF ARREST, IT WOULD BE EVIDENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOOD FAITH.

ACTION REQUESTED: PLEASE ADVISE AS TO POSSIBILITY FOR HELPING SWAPO WITH TRAVEL COSTS AND OF POSSIBILITY OF ARRANGING FOR SWAPO INTERNAL REPS TO ATTEND MEETING IN NEW YORK.

7. MUYONGO ALSO STATED CATEGORICALLY THAT SWAPO WOULD BE PREPARED TO RELEASE ALL THOSE WHO ARE BEING DESCRIBED AS SWAPO-DETAINED POLITICAL PRISONERS AS SOON AS ASSURANCES CONFIDENTIAL

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ARE ESTABLISHED THAT ALL NAMIBIANS CAN RETURN TO NAMIBIA WITHOUT FEAR OF ARREST.

COMMENT: REFTTEL B SUGGESTING JULY 11 MEETING DATE FOR SWAPO DID NOT ARRIVE UNTIL AFTER CONVERSATION WITH MUYONGO. WHILE MUYONGO DID NOT SAY FLATLY THAT SWAPO WOULD BE WILLING TO POSTPONE ITS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING UNTIL AFTER A MEETING COULD BE ARRANGED IN NEW YORK, I BELIEVE HE WOULD BE WILLING TO DO SO. HE WAS RECEPTIVE TO THE ARGUMENT THAT SWAPO SHOULD NOT LOCK ITSELF INTO POSITIONS BY STATING THEM PUBLICLY, AND HE WAS WELL AWARE OF THE ADVANTAGES TO SWAPO OF MAKING ITS CONCERNS CLEAR TO THE CONTACT GROUP. MUYONGO IMPRESSED ME AS GENUINELY INTERESTED IN ELECTIONS AND TEMPTED BY THE POSSIBILITIES DEVELOPED BY THE CONTACT GROUP. HIS FEARS ARE, I BELIEVE, GENUINE, AND OBVIOUSLY WILL BE DIFFICULT TO OVERCOME.
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